837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives,
[595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the
[684] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in <u>flagrante delicto</u>, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an <u>ewu</u> inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

586 If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /284/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 827 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edă'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

● 586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

543 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[832] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

●586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

562 584 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 586 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 835 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the ta̱ga class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, 583 kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there 834 is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the 611 nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

586 The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [514] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 428 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan.

587 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 583 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 839 754]

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[839] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with h[illegible] and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
[847] must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the [606] mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

614 Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins.
● 586 If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character, "

586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndômô usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

> 1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndômô only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba' ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndômô: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because he considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndômô relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

586 851 848 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bityé, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bityé = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
641 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
833 in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
783 lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus; people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be